

JOURNAL

OF THE

ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL.

Part I.—HISTORY, LITERATURE, &c.

No. II.—1881.

On the Coins of Charibael, king of the Homerites and Sabæans.—By
Major W. F. PRIDEAUX, F. R. G. S., *Bombay Staff Corps.*

(With a Plate.)

In the year 1843 M. Arnaud, a French traveller, discovered at Şan'á and the neighbouring cities of South Arabia a considerable number of Himyaritic inscriptions, which were subsequently collected and published by M. Fresnel, the distinguished Arabic scholar, in the *Journal Asiatique* (IV série, tome V, pp. 211, 309 ; VI, p. 169). On some of these inscriptions were found the names of two ancient kings called Kariba-él, one of whom it was tolerably evident, must be identical with the monarch of that name who is mentioned in the twenty-third chapter of the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, as having been the paramount sovereign (ἐνθεσμος βασιλεύς) of the two contiguous tribes of the Homerites and the Sabæans at the time that work was compiled. The name of one of these princes occurs in one passage only (Fres. XXIX) where he is described as *Kariba-él Bayyân*, son of *Yatha'-amar*, *Makrab* of Sabà ; while the other is mentioned in three inscriptions, first (Fres. XI) as *Kariba-él Wattâr*, son of *Dhamar-'alî*, *Makrab* of Sabà ; secondly (Fres. LVI), at the end of a long list of princes, as *Kariba-él Wattâr* ; and thirdly (Fres. LIV) as *Kariba-él Wattâr Yehan'am*, king of Sabà and Raidân, son of *Dhamar-'alî Bayyân*. A comparison of these names and titles with the text of the *Periplus* affords sufficient evidence that the king mentioned in that work is identical with the second of the princes named in the inscriptions. The writer of the *Periplus* states three facts regarding Kariba-él, firstly, that his metropolis

was at *Saphar*; secondly, that he was the sovereign of the contiguous tribes of the Homerites and the Sabæans; and thirdly, that, by means of embassies and presents, he established terms of friendship with the Roman Emperors. *Saphar* is universally acknowledged to be the town of *Zhafâr*, otherwise known as *Haql-Yahşib*,* a name which it probably owes to another ancient king of the Homerites, *El-sharah Yahşib*, who is mentioned in one of the inscriptions preserved in the British Museum (No. 33). *Al-Hamdânî*, the historiographer of Yemen, calls *Raidân*, قصر المملكة بظفار, the castle of the kingdom at *Zhafâr*, the seat of government and the residence of the kings. The original seat of the Sabæan monarchy was at *Mârib*, but after the expedition of *Ælius Gallus* and the consequent ruin of that city, it seems probable that the inferior tribe of *Himyar*, which is always represented in Arabian legends as an offshoot of *Sabà*, rose to power and fixed its capital at the town of *Zhafâr*. It is evident from the text of the *Periplus* that at the time of the compilation of that work the Homerites were the ascendant tribe, and it seems reasonable to conclude that *Kariba-êl* was their chief. The original designation of himself and his father was *Makrab* of *Sabà*, an inferior title to that of *Malik*, which he afterwards bore, and one which apparently corresponds to the Greek *τύραννος*, under which title we find *Cholaibus*, the subordinate chief of the district of *Mophareitês*, mentioned in the twenty-second chapter of the *Periplus*. After he had brought the united kingdoms under his sole authority, he assumed the exalted epithet of *Yehan'am*, struck coins, as we shall presently see, at his castle of *Raidân* and consolidated his power by an alliance with the Cæsar of Rome.

The name of *Kariba-êl* belongs to the regular system of Himyaritic nomenclature, and its probable signification is *El has strengthened*. The root *karab* occurs in other Himyaritic names, such as *Tobba'-karib*, *Ma'adikarib*, and is also found in the title *Makrab*, a designation which would seem to have a nearer analogy to the *Podestà* of the mediæval Italian cities than to the *tyrannus* of the Greeks. The root is also found in the Hebrew *Kerúbîm*, those mythical creatures which are represented in the Assyrian sculptures as colossal winged bulls with human heads† and whose strength is asserted in the Bible to be sufficient to support the Deity Himself (2 Sam. xxii, 11; Ps. xviii, 10). The surname *Wattâr* is not uncommon in the lists of the Sabæan kings and is referable to a root which appears primarily to convey the idea of *uniqueness* and thence of excellence. It is cognate with the Biblical name of *Yether* or *Yethro* (*Jethro*). The further epithet of *Yehan'am* which was subsequently assumed by *Kariba-êl* is derived from the causative or Hiphil form of the root *נעם* and may

* D. H. Müller, *Die Burgen und Schlösser Südarabiens*, Wien, 1879, p. 37.

† Lenormant, *Les Origines de l' Histoire*, 1880, pp. 112, sqq.

be rendered *the bestower of favour*, a designation which would not be inappropriate to one who had secured the friendship of Rome by the means mentioned in the *Periplus*.

Of the extent of Kariba-êl's dominions we have no exact means of judging, but they probably included the greater part of that country which is now, and has been for many years, known as El-Yemen, for it may not be uninteresting to mention that the division of Arabia into El-Yemen, *the south*, and Esh-Shâm, *the north*, is of very early date. In one of the inscriptions discovered by M. Halévy at Berâqish in South Arabia, reference is made to an altercation between the inhabitants of the two divisions (בין זימנת וזשאמת, Hal. 535, 13). That part of Kariba-êl's kingdom which comprised the south-western extremity of the peninsula was called Mophareitês and was under the government of the *tyrannus* Cholaibus. This is known to the Arabs as the Beled el-Ma'âfir (بلد المعافر)* and is described in Al-Hamdânî's geographical work, the *Jezîret el-'Arab*. The name of the chief, *Kulaib*, is a diminutive form of *Kalb*, one of the principal tribes of ancient Arabia, and mentioned as a personal designation in more than one inscription (Hal. 396, 1; 662, 1). The authority of Kulaib extended over a considerable portion of the opposite African coast (*Periplus*, § 16). *Hadhramaut*, however, still existed as a distinct kingdom and was ruled over by a king called Eleazus, a name which under the form of El-'azza (אלעזא), is frequently mentioned in the Himyaritic inscriptions (Hal. 77, 1; 208, 1; 231, 7; 643, 2). The principal city of *Hadhramaut* was *Sabbatha*, the *Sobota* of Pliny, the שבות of the British Museum inscription No. VI. 6, and the شجرة of Al-Hamdânî.



The period at which Kariba-êl reigned must be determined by the date of the *Periplus*. Some years ago I examined this question with considerable care, and for the reasons alleged by me in a paper published in the *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archæology* (Vol. II, p. 16), I have come to the conclusion that Kariba-êl must have reigned about the year A. D. 75. I believe that this date agrees with that which is now generally received by scholars, and should it differ, it must be considered that the writer of the *Periplus* may sometimes refer a fact to the period of his voyage, and sometimes to the time at which he was working up his notes of travel into the form in which they now exist.



Having said so much by way of introduction, it remains to add a few words upon the more immediate subject of my paper. A few months ago I received from Aden a few silver Himyaritic coins, among which I was pleased to discover two which I had no hesitation in attributing to Kariba-êl Wattâr Yehan'am. The following is a description of the coins, which I have brought with me for exhibition this evening:—

* D. H. Müller, *Reise nach Constantinopel*, Wien, 1878, p. 10, &c.



KARIBA-ÊL WATTÂR YEHAN'AM.


(The inscriptions are written in Hebrew characters, as Himyaritic type is not procurable.)

1. (Plate X). *Obv.* Head to right, beardless, the hair arranged in three stiff corkscrew curls; round it the inscription כרבאל יהנ and the monogram ; below head רידן, to right .



Rev. Head as in *obv.*; above the head the monogram , behind the head the monogram ; the right side of the coin *in grenetis*.



Ar. Size: .6 in. Weight: 23.673 gr. = 1.534 grammes.

2. *Obv.* Head as in No. 1; around head the inscription כרבאל יהנ and the monogram ; below head רידן, to right .

Rev. Head as in No. 1; behind head the monogram ; the right side of the coin *in grenetis*.

Ar. Size: .58 in. Weight, 24.49 gr. = 1.587 grammes.

On the obverse the name of the king and the first three letters of his epithet יהנעם are given, below is the name of the mint-place *Raidân*. I am unable to explain the signification of the monogram  which is also found in two other coins in my possession (one of 'Umdân Yehaqbadh and one of Yada'-äb Yenâf) or of the symbol  which is found on all the *Raidân* coins of this type that I have seen. It has also been discovered on some of the sculptured Himyaritic inscriptions.

The monogram  or  which appears on the reverse can be resolved into the letters ותר *Wattâr*, the surname of Kariba-êl. The other monogram on the reverse of No. 1 I am unable to explain.

It was my original intention to have added a few remarks upon the subject of the Himyaritic coinage generally, but within the last few days I have been favoured with the proof-sheets of a paper entitled *Neue himjarische Münzen* by Dr. J. H. Mordtmann of Constantinople, which is on the point of publication, and which treats the question in such an exhaustive manner that any observations of mine would be superfluous. It will be sufficient to state that the numismatic system of the Himyarites may be classified into three divisions; the first consisting of thick coins struck in imitation of the drachmas of Athens with the head of Athena, generally countermarked with a Himyaritic character, on the obverse, and a rude imitation of the owl with the letters AΘE on the reverse; the second consisting of thin coins of still ruder execution, which are designed upon the Athenian tetradrachms of more recent date and are sometimes varied by the head of Augustus on the obverse; and the third comprising the series of small hollow-struck indigenous coins to which those which I have exhibited belong. The first two classes have been very ably treated by Mr. Barclay V. Head in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, N. S. Vol. XVIII, Pages

273-284; and Dr. Mordtmann has gone still further into the question and has I think satisfactorily deciphered the rude Pehlevi inscription which appears on the reverse of some of them. I produce for exhibition to the meeting a specimen of the earliest class from my own collection (Plate X, No. 7). Of the second class which have lately become exceedingly common I possess a considerable quantity in England, including the unique gold coin figured in the plate accompanying Mr. Head's paper (Pl. XIII, Nos. 4, 5—16).* Specimens of the third and most interesting class are still comparatively rare. The two coins of Kariba-êl are the first of this class which have been exhibited before any English Society. In addition to these, I produce a coin of Yada'-âb Yenâf, struck at *Harb* (Caripeta of Pliny?) (Plate X, No. 3), and three of another king, 'Umdân Yehaqbadh, struck at Raidân (Plate X, Nos. 4, 5, 6). There are a few other specimens in the British Museum, and Dr. Mordtmann also possesses two examples of Kariba-êl and a few others which are described in the paper to which I have adverted. The indigenous silver coinage of El-Yemen appears to have been succeeded by the gold and copper mintages of the Axumite kings of Abyssinia, who are supposed to have secured a footing in South Arabia towards the close of the 1st century A. D. It will be seen from the specimen which I produce before the meeting (Plate X, No. 8) that these monarchs were to a certain extent indebted to their Himyaritic predecessors for the types of their coins, which it is probable were current in South Arabia until the conversion of that part of the peninsula to Islam.

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*On the Revenues of the Mughul Empire.—By H. G. KEENE, C. S.*

AKBAR'S REVENUE.

The *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Part I, No. IV, 1880, contained a paper by Mr. C. J. Rodgers on the Copper Coins of Akbar. The writer, a practical numismatist well known in Upper India, laid down as a principle that it must have been a necessity of the position of the Emperor Akbar, "when he made a demand from his ministers for revenue returns," to fix upon a standard. He gives us the description of a coin called the "*yak tanka*," weighing 59 grains Troy; and he concludes that the 640 krors of "*morâdi tankas*" of Nizam-ud-din Ahmad, about which we have heard so much, must be based on the standard of two hundred to the rupee and be equal to three million two hundred thousand sterling a year. He adds that Abul Fazl's estimate of the revenue of the same period in *dâms* will be equivalent to about the same, or three million five

\* Dr. Schlumberger (*Le Trésor de San'â*, p. 6, note 2) suggests that this is the same coin as that mentioned by me in the *Transactions of the Soc. of Bibl. Arch.* Vol. II. p. 5, but this is not the case. The coin sent by Capt. Miles to the Royal Asiatic Society from Aden was, I believe, *Axumite*.